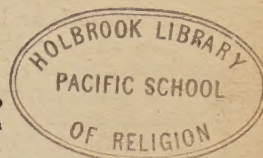


Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.



Volume 36

NOVEMBER, 1946

Number 8

We Can Get Along With Russia

HENRY A. WALLACE *

(This is the section of Wallace's letter to Truman of last summer which deals with U. S.-Russian relations. It is of vital importance.)

I believe that for the United States and Russia to live together in peace is the most important single problem facing the world today. Many people, in view of the relatively satisfactory outcome of the recent Paris conference, feel that good progress is being made on the problem of working out relations between the Anglo-Saxon powers and Russia.

This feeling seems to me to be resting on superficial appearances more productive of a temporary truce than of final peace. On the whole, as we look beneath the surface in late July of 1946, our action and those of the Western powers in general carry with them the ultimate danger of a third world war—this time an atomic world war. As the strongest single nation, and the nation whose leadership is followed by the entire world with the exception of Russia and a few weak neighboring countries in eastern Europe, I believe that we have the opportunity to lead the world to peace.

In general, there are two over-all points of view which can be taken in approaching the problem of the United States-Russian relations. The first is that it is not possible to get along with the Russians and therefore war is inevitable. The second is that war with Russia would bring catastrophe to all mankind, and therefore we must find a way of living in peace.

It is clear that our own welfare as well as that of the entire world requires that we maintain the latter point of view. I am sure that this is also your opinion, and the radio address of the Secretary of State on July 15 clearly indicates that he is prepared to negotiate as long as may be necessary to work out a solution on this basis.

We should try to get an honest answer to the question of what the factors are which cause Russia to distrust us, in addition to the question of what factors lead us to distrust Russia. I am not sure that we have as a nation or an Administration found an adequate answer to either question, although we have recognized that both questions are of critical importance.

Factors in American Distrust of Russia

Our basic distrust of the Russians, which has been greatly intensified in recent months by the playing up of conflict in the press, stems from differences in political and economic organization. For the first time in our history defeatists among us have raised the fear of another system as a successful rival to democracy and free enterprise in other countries and perhaps even our own.

I am convinced that we can meet that challenge as we

have in the past by demonstrating that economic abundance can be achieved without sacrificing personal, political and religious liberties. We cannot meet it as Hitler tried to by an anti-Comintern alliance.

It is perhaps too easy to forget that despite the deep-seated differences in our cultures and intensive anti-Russian propaganda of some twenty-five years' standing, the American people reversed their attitudes during the crisis of war. Today, under the pressure of seemingly insoluble international problems and continuing deadlocks, the tide of American public opinion is again turning against Russia. In this reaction lies one of the dangers to which this letter is addressed.

Factors in Russian Distrust of the Western World

I should list the factors which make for Russian distrust of the United States and of the Western world as follows:

The first is Russian history, which we must take into account because it is the setting in which Russians see all actions and policies of the rest of the world. Russian history for over a thousand years has been a succession of attempts, often unsuccessful, to resist invasion and conquest—by the Mongols, the Turks, the Swedes, the Germans and the Poles.

The scant thirty years of the existence of the Soviet Government has in Russian eyes been a continuation of their historical struggle for national existence. The first four years of the new regime, from 1917 through 1921, were spent in resisting attempts at destruction by the Japanese, the British and French, with some American assistance, and by the several White Russian armies encouraged and financed by the Western powers.

Then, in 1941, the Soviet state was almost conquered by the Germans after a period during which the Western European powers had apparently acquiesced in the rearming of Germany in the belief that the Nazis would seek to expand eastward rather than westward. The Russians, therefore, obviously see themselves as fighting for their existence in a hostile world.

Second, it follows that to the Russians all of the defense and security measures of the Western powers seem to have an aggressive intent. Our actions to expand our military security system—such steps as extending the Monroe Doctrine to include the arming of the Western Hemisphere nations, our present monopoly of the atomic bomb, our interest in outlying bases and our general support of the British Empire—appear to them as going far beyond the requirements of defense.

I think we might feel the same if the United States were the only capitalistic country in the world, and the principal socialistic countries were creating a level of armed strength far exceeding anything in their previous history. From the Russian point of view, also, the granting of a loan to

(Continued on page 117)

* Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Commerce, is now editor of the *New Republic*.

Where Disarmament Must Begin

FLOYD MULKEY *

Today we hear little talk of disarmament. In the short months since V-J Day most of the discussion in the field of international relations has involved many pressing short-range problems, such as the atomic bomb, the United Nations, world relief, the terms of peace, and cooperation between the English-speaking nations and the Soviet Union. These are indeed pressing problems which must be solved without delay. But at the same time we must do some long-range planning for peace. What about the problem of disarmament? How can disarmament be carried out? When can disarmament begin?

It seems to me, however, that the important question is, Where must disarmament begin? During the 1920's when the world had a few years of grace the peace movement tried in vain to solve this problem. If we are to succeed where our predecessors failed we should try to learn from their failure.

The modern disarmament movement began when Nicholas II of Russia issued the call for the first Hague Conference of 1899. This autocrat had no real concern for world peace; he was motivated rather by the oppressive burden of existing armaments. The two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 considered almost everything except disarmament. Instead of taking steps to limit armaments the delegates spent their time in drawing up rules for land warfare; their major attention was given to formulating conventions which provided a sort of Marquis of Queensberry code for chivalrous nations at war. On the problem of disarmament the best the conferences could do was to pass a pious resolution declaring that the "restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind."

The League of Nations and Disarmament

After World War I years of hard work were spent on the matter of disarmament. An entirely new approach was taken toward the problem. Previously the movement—at least on the part of the political leaders—had been motivated by the desire to lessen the burden of armaments. The new approach was based on the assumption that wars might be prevented by universal disarmament. If there are no armaments, there can be no wars—this was the guiding principle. This was a simple proposition but it proved highly unrealistic.

This principle was stated in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations as follows: "The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." The Council of the League was made responsible for drafting plans for disarmament.

The only concrete steps taken in this movement were in the field of naval limitation. The Washington Conference of 1921-22 did establish limitations in capital ships (those over 10,000 tons) but even these restrictions were abandoned in 1936 as the international situation developed toward war.

Immediately after the League of Nations came into existence in 1920 it initiated with enthusiasm and high hopes the movement for land disarmament. The Temporary Mixed Commission was appointed to prepare definite plans. This commission had the difficult task of reconciling divergent national policies. France, fearing a third German attack, insisted that security must precede disarmament. Great Britain, less fearful of attack, demanded that disarmament be put first.

With France in the driver's seat the commission first concentrated on the quest for security. The result was the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923), which obligated every state to give aid to any signatory state which might be attacked. Disarmament was to follow security. France and 17 other states ratified this treaty but Great Britain rejected it.

Then came 1924, a year of high hopes and near-success. Ramsay MacDonald was in power in England at the head of a Labour government. With such support the Mixed Commission drafted the admirable Geneva Protocol, which added the element of arbitration to that of mutual assistance, establishing a logical sequence of arbitration, security, disarmament. Every state should submit all disputes either to the World Court or to arbitration; any nation resorting to war should be placed under an economic boycott. Unfortunately MacDonald was driven from power on trumped-up charges; a new election was fought on the false issue of subversive Russian propaganda, resulting in the return of the Conservatives to office. France had lost her quest for security.

Where Should Disarmament Begin?

Under British domination the Commission next turned directly to the problem of disarmament—the new sequence being disarmament, arbitration, security. In 1925, the League Council set up the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. This Commission first began a search for equivalents, hoping to devise technical equations so that all states might make equivalent reductions in armaments. The new guiding principle was that a universal standard reduction—for example, 30 per cent—would leave undisturbed the old balance of power, and hence would not affect the security of any state. The difficulty came in working out satisfactory equivalents. Every state had adapted its armament to its peculiar needs—England having a mighty navy, France a strong army. Each state wanted to retain what it needed and to reduce the other nation's strong arm. Draft conventions of 1927 and 1929 left most major problems unsolved.

There was a flurry of excitement in 1928 when Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet representative, proposed complete and absolute disarmament, suggesting that the way to disarm was to disarm. This brash newcomer was treated like a yokel who just didn't know the facts of international life. Litvinov next proposed gradual and proportional disarmament according to a fixed scale. Germany, already disarmed, was alone in supporting this proposal.

Having failed in the quest for security and in the search for equivalents, the Commission next began looking for the arms of aggression. The new guiding principle was that wars of aggression could be prevented if aggressive arms could be outlawed; no state could attack another if it had no such weapons. But, which weapons are aggressive in character? In general, majority opinion regarded as aggressive such weapons as tanks, bombing planes, heavy mobile guns, submarines, and poison gas. But certain powers felt that their security lay in having available just such weapons. For example, Great Britain wanted bombing planes for retaliation in case of attack. France would not agree on submarines; but beyond such details she still insisted on security before disarmament. The Japanese militarists, already looking forward to a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, wanted all the weapons of aggression they could get, as did Mussolini for Italy.

Finally in December, 1930, the Preparatory Commission issued its draft convention for the general disarmament conference. This document hedged on every vital problem by including all counter-proposals and reservations. The

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Geneva Disarmament Convention met in February, 1932, with delegates from 60 states. The meeting quickly deadlocked on France's demand for security and Germany's insistence on equality in armaments. The United States and Great Britain both insisted that disarmament must precede security. President Hoover broke into the weary routine by making a proposal that the arms of the world should be reduced by about one-third and by suggesting that all arms of aggression—specified in the proposal—should be banned. This proposal gained little support.

Hoping for Something to Turn Up

The conference adjourned in July, 1932, with nothing accomplished. Twelve years of bickering on disarmament had produced nothing except an impasse. The armament race had been held up but time was pressing: the steeds of war were beginning to line up. Germany now demanded that other nations disarm to her level or permit her to rearm to theirs. A formula of words was then devised to appease the Germans, after which the bewildered statesmen set the next meeting for February, 1933, hoping that something would turn up. Something did turn up: it was Adolf Hitler, who came into power on January 30, 1933.

At the conference a plan was presented to permit Germany to rearm to meet a proposed reduction which other powers should make. A flood of reservations resulted. The deadlocked conference took a summer recess, still hoping that something would turn up. Again it happened: Hitler announced Germany's withdrawal from the League and from the conference. Futile meetings of the conference were held in October, 1933, and May, 1934; nothing resulted except bitter wrangling between France and Great Britain over German rearmament. The hope of disarmament then expired as every state set out to follow the German example. The steeds of war were off to a fast race.

The disarmament movement had begun in 1920 with high idealism. In fourteen years these hopes sank into farce and then into tragedy. Every nation wanted disarmament; all alike desired peace; all sought security. But every state demanded its own kind of disarmament to be secured in its own way. They could not decide where disarmament should begin.

Disarmament and the United Nations

Today we hear little discussion of disarmament. Most people now realize that armament in themselves do not constitute our great international problem; we are realistic enough to understand that the real obstacle to world peace is found in the fears and hatreds and jealousies behind the marching men. Nothing can be done to reduce armies and navies until human passions are calmed, and not until the world enjoys universal security, backed by effective sanctions respected and trusted by all nations.

Unfortunately the Charter of the United Nations reflects an ultra-realism that is disheartening. The problem of disarmament receives no more than a passing reference. Article 11 has the following provision: "The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the members or to the Security Council or to both." Article 26 states that "the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the military staff committees, plans to be submitted to the members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments."

It should be noticed that the dominant idea is not "disarmament" or "reduction of armaments" but "regulation of armaments." Moreover, the Security Council in formulating plans on this problem is to have the assistance of the military staff committees. No disarmament can be expected from such groups.

The great purpose of the United Nations is stated in the first paragraph of Article 1 of the Charter as follows: "To maintain international peace and security, . . ." This is a realistic beginning. But in implementing this purpose the dominant note is ultra-realism, unrelieved by a single trace of idealism. Peace and security are to be maintained by the United Nations, which is the old wartime alliance projected into time of peace. The Security Council, overshadowing the more democratic General Assembly, is the directorate of this alliance; actually it is the instrument of the five permanent members—in effect, the Big Three. Everything depends on the Big Three; if they can cooperate the whole world will enjoy peace and security; if the present bickerings continue there can be neither peace nor security.

It is true that the old principle of balance of power is generally rejected. This repudiation, however, is not prompted by any renunciation of power. The only thing given up is the idea of balance; it is recognized that in a world of three super-powers there can be no balancing of power. The new principle is division of power. The world is to be divided into three spheres—one for each of the Big Three, with each respecting the preserves of the other two. The Big Three working in cahoots can keep the peace and provide security—that is the basic assumption behind the United Nations Charter.

Where Disarmament Must Begin

Unfortunately world peace can never arise out of such a division of spoils. In fact, the dividing of spoils is the most fertile field of strife. Today with the old world order in ruins the spoils are truly enormous. Two world powers, Germany and Japan, and a would-be power, Italy, have been destroyed; France has been reduced to second-rate position. Moreover, Great Britain has a world empire extended out of all proportion to her present power potential, while the opposite is true of the USSR. The present bickerings are over the division of spheres. There is now an intense jockeying for power such as the world has never before seen.

We cannot discuss disarmament amid such jockeying for power. Men may cry peace! peace! but there can never be peace so long as competition for power is the great ruling motive. Some advocates of world order insist that the competition for power must give way to a community of power. But let us remember that power is essentially competitive and can never be brought into adjustment with the spirit of cooperation. The love of power is the root of all wars.

The disarmament movement must begin in the hearts of men everywhere. So long as people love power more than justice, so long as nations seek domination rather than cooperation, exploitation instead of welfare, we can do nothing to regulate military armaments. Let us forget the weapons and concentrate on the men behind the weapons. The world cannot enjoy peace and security until the masses of men acquire a new spirit of goodwill and cooperation. We must disarm our souls of hatreds and jealousies and suspicions. Here is where disarmament must begin and it must start now.

Ed. note—As the United Nations Assembly opened in N. Y., V. M. Molotov, speaking for Russia, outlined a practical plan for disarmament which was accepted by the U. S. representative, Sen. Warren Austin.

"The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God."—Thomas Jefferson.

The Marysville Appointment

(Last month we commented editorially on the Safran case and printed a document bearing on the matter from Bishop Wade. Here is the statement of the Detroit Conference Federation group.)

As the committee appointed by the Federation for Social Service of the Detroit Conference of The Methodist Church, we wish to make the following statement regarding the issue of the reappointment of Brother John Safran to the Methodist Church at Marysville. (The Detroit Conference Federation is a chapter of the national organization known by that name, which is an unofficial fellowship among Methodist ministers and laymen.)

We wish to express our appreciation to Bishop R. J. Wade and the cabinet in that they have provided an appointment for Brother Safran. We wish also to register our fundamental support to Mr. Safran in his statement on racial and other social issues, to which his church at Marysville took exception. At the General Conference of 1940, Methodism declared as a part of its Social Creed:

We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, Jesus Christ is His Son, that we and all men are brothers. . . . We test all institutions and practices by their effect on personality. Since personality is being oppressed in so many parts of the world, we seek for its emancipation, and for those things which will enrich and redeem it. . . . We repent of our blindness to the actual situations which have developed in society. . . .

"We stand for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life. . . . We believe that it is our Christian duty to do our utmost to provide for all men opportunity to earn an adequate livelihood. . . .

"We stand for the rights of racial groups, and insist that the above social, economic and spiritual principles apply to all races alike." (Discipline 1940, Par. 2010.)

This is the creed by which we are to live, as Methodists, and which should govern all our relations in these social matters.

Our committee has been assured by the bishop that at the meeting on Saturday afternoon, June 15, 1946, between the bishop, the cabinet and the committee from the Marysville Church, he stated that he would re-appoint Mr. Safran to Marysville and hoped that the committee and their fellow churchmen would work out a satisfactory relationship. No suggestion was made at that time, according to Bishop Wade, that the appointment would be ad interim in nature nor that a successor to Mr. Safran would be found. The re-appointment was definite and made in all good faith.

When, however, on Tuesday, June 18th, the Marysville Church officials refused to accept Mr. Safran as their pastor, we believe they forfeited the right to receive the appointment of any other minister from The Methodist Church. It is our conviction that the appropriate action of the bishop and his cabinet would be to leave the church without an appointment and thus give assurance to our brethren, both in the ministry and the laity, that these general statements of our church are not scraps of paper that may be repudiated with impunity by anyone at any time, but are binding principles in the keeping of which the brethren will receive the fullest moral and spiritual support from the church and her officers.

We also protest the appointment of a Methodist minister as successor to Mr. Safran because it is unfair on every count. It is primarily unfair because it inevitably confronts such an appointee with an impossible dilemma for in substance he is being told to refrain from raising any controversial issue, or in uttering his convictions he may be subject to dismissal.

The Marysville issue is not merely a local matter between one minister and his congregation. Because of its very nature, the controversy has been rightly given nationwide publicity, involving as it does the validity of the principle of the freedom of the pulpit and the reality and integrity of our Christian brotherhood as a whole.

We believe that every minister of our conference, indeed, of the entire church, has a vital stake in this issue, and it is imperative that we give such concrete expression as is possible to those principles which come alive only as they are put into practice in our own fellowship and in our several communities.

Signed:

HENRY H. CRANE
OWEN M. GEER
PAUL MORRISON
RALPH HILEMAN
MARION BAILEY

Committee appointed by the Detroit
Conference Federation of Social
Service, June 13, 1946.

Federation Membership Meeting in Evanston

The first post-war membership meeting of the Federation will be held at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., on December 31-January 1-2. All Federation members are urged to reserve these dates and plan to be present.

The complete program will be printed in the December issue of the BULLETIN. Among those present will be Prof. Jerome Davis, whose new book "Behind Soviet Power" is reviewed in this issue; Prof. Clyde Miller of Columbia University, the author of the "Springfield Plan"; Dr. Willard Uphaus of the Religion and Labor Foundation, and Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston, President of the Federation.

Delegates will be housed and fed in the Garrett dormitories. The special price to MFSS people will be \$1 for the first night and 75 cents for each additional night spent in the dormitory, and \$1.75 per day for meals in the dining hall. The registration fee for the meeting will be \$1. Thus, expense is being held to a minimum. Car-pools and other "share-the-rider" devices are in order for those making the trip from distant points.

Only the first 100 delegates registering can be accommodated in the Garrett dormitories. Others registering will be accommodated in neighboring houses and dormitories of Northwestern University.

Fill out the registration form and return it to Federation headquarters at 150 Fifth Ave., New York City, today.

REGISTRATION

Methodist Federation For Social Service
Membership Meeting, Evanston, Ill.
December 31-January 1-2

Name

Address

Do you wish to be housed at Garrett?

How many nights?.....

Registration fee of \$1 enclosed.

Don't allow yourself to be carried away by enthusiasm;
you may have to walk back.—Strand

three short editorials

objectors and objectionables

Elsewhere in this issue we carry an article on the plight of the conscientious objector in the United States. Many of these men are still being held in what are virtually concentration camps, and some are in Federal prisons. We carried an article on the same subject last month. We do this not because we agree with the sincere and stubborn problem children who refuse to use or sanction force, but because we believe that there is no longer—if there ever was—any necessity for incarcerating them. As Christians, they owe their consciences to no mortal man.

We, the people, through our majestic international tribunal called the War Crimes Commission or some such, have just decreed that Hjalmar Schacht, Hans Fritzsche, and Franz Von Papen are not a menace to society and have declared them innocent of wrong-doing and set them free. There is more than a suspicion of papal intercession in behalf of Fritzsche and probably Von Papen—a papal knight—and Schacht, who worked his brains overtime to keep Hitlerism a going concern financially, could not have been convicted without condemning the whole system of international banking.

All right, we understand such devious justice. Nuremberg, for all its impressive global trappings and distinguished jurists, is a glorified New York or Chicago traffic court where the guy who knows an alderman gets his parking ticket torn up. We get it. It makes sense.

What we do not get and does not make sense is why sincere c.o.'s who think they are living the Sermon on the Mount are kept in prison as menaces to the public safety while international Typhoid Marys like Franz Von Papen are set free.

We believe that all c.o.'s should be amnestied at once.

We believe that Schacht, Fritzsche, and Von Papen should be re-caught, preferably in large steep traps, disinfected, and placed in isolation wards for the remainder of their natural lives.

wallace versus the war-mongers

We also print this month that section of ex-Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace's letter to President Truman of last summer which deals with our relations with Russia.

We do this because, as Wallace says, we are obviously headed towards war with Russia. Such a war would not only be morally wrong, it would be materially disastrous. For we—as Walter Lippman never tires of saying these days—could not win it, even with the help of the atom bomb. Our allies in such a war would be the Vatican—whose Swiss Guards with their medieval halberds would not likely win many battles against the Red Army—Franco Spain, Peron's Argentina, the Polish landlords, and perhaps the British Foreign Office, although it would not be wise to count on the latter when the chips were down. Against us—as John Foster Dulles pointed out in his Philadelphia speech—would be some 750,000,000 people with white, black, brown, and yellow skins who would not understand that we were fighting solely to liberate them from the cruel exploitation of Russian socialism and who might be so misguided as to equate our brand of democracy with British imperialism and American capitalism from which they were promised liberation back in the previous war, circa 1941. Whatever happened to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, anyway? We seem to remember some very pretty posters.

In such a war the atom bomb would be horribly effective and our heroic victory at Hiroshima would be multiplied many times, but Russia is not a small island like Britain or Japan but an enormous country with plenty of the one

possible defense against atom bombs—space. And, since the Red Army would simply move from its bombed-out bases in Russia into Europe proper, it would mean that we should have to atom-bomb Rome, Paris, Copenhagen, Oslo, etc., as well as Moscow and Zagreb, in addition to planning another gigantic Invasion Day against a new Red Fortress Europa.

Pleasant prospect, isn't it? And for what? For the glorious internationalization of the Danube? To keep the awful Communists away from the Dardanelles? To cast off the chains of the poor, oppressed Bulgarians?

Or, to put it on a high ethical and moral plane, to crush atheistic communism forever?

Mr. Truman—Mr. Byrnes—believe us, nobody ever yet carved up an objectionable idea with a sword.

Unlike the Pope, Mr. John Stelle of the American Legion, Senator Vandenberg, Admiral Leahy, the Honorable Theodore Bilbo, William Randolph Hearst, Westbrook Pegler, etc., we do not want war with Russia—a war waged ostensibly to defend democracy and the democratic way of life but actually to defend capitalist-imperialism and the capitalist-imperialist way of life. We do not want war with anybody. We do not want war.

We do want God's peace, God's justice, God's reign of love among men.

And the only alternative to a brotherly and Christian world is a return to the trees and caves of our ancestors. With the atom bomb God is saying to us: be brotherly, or be damned.

pegler versus the truth (a long-standing debate)

Westbrook Pegler, in this writer's pastoral experience one of the most widely-read and approved columnists among church people today, recently wrote a column inferring that the late President Roosevelt was a "drooling drunkard," and quoting as his source the late General Hugh Johnson.

As every minister knows, literally thousands of Methodist laymen, official board members, and Woman's Society For Christian Service people will read this slanderous lie against the reputation of a dead man with approval.

The editor of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN does not read Pegler's column for, like Harold Ickes, he does not

(Continued on page 124)

Social Questions BULLETIN

Issued monthly, except July, August and September

REV. ALSON J. SMITH, *Editor*

**The METHODIST FEDERATION
for SOCIAL SERVICE**
(Unofficial)

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Forgotten Men—1946 Style

MILTON MAYER *

The metropolis of Big Flats—it would be a little more appropriately named Little Rounds—has a population of about 150 souls, some of them lost, some of them saved, and most of them, I suppose, hovering like you and me. It is located in the rich Finger Lakes country; prettily starched as to solid white frame farmhouses with green shutters; and possessed of three stores, but no stoplight. It is not quite big enough to be called a four-corners. Three-corners, or even two, comes closer. Nothing, so far as I know, ever happened in or to Big Flats until the CCC came along and built a camp outside of town to house some of the forgotten young men.

After a few years of this, the father of the CCC found gainful employment, in public-financed private industries, for his boys. War and the rumors of war redeemed the young men from forgottenness. They went out to make the machinery of death, and the CCC camps closed, and Big Flats resumed its quiet progress from obscurity to oblivion.

When, in 1940, it was clear to everybody that America was soon to join Hitler's crusade to exterminate the human race, the young men were put into uniforms at \$50 a month, which is low pay for dangerous work. Some of the young men thus summoned had no stomach for the work in prospect. It wasn't so much the hours, or the wages, as it was the working conditions. Either for religious or non-religious reasons, they declined to be cannibals. The Government foresaw this minor impediment to the War Effort and as government so often is when there is destruction to be done, was beforehand in the matter.

It was in mid-1941, I guess, when I encountered Gen.—then Lt. Col.—Hershey, who was in charge of Selective Service. "I read your article," said Gen. Hershey, referring to an explanation of my conscientious objection to the coming war, "and I was interested. My mother, you know," though I didn't, "was a Mennonite, so I know a lot about pacifism. And I am here to tell you," said the General, "that there is only one way to handle C.O.'s and that is to pretend that they aren't there. I want to keep the number down, on whatever grounds are necessary. C.O.'s are the most real obstacle to the War Effort that I know because they are a moral obstacle. The more of them there are, the queerer the country feels about the war. No country dares shoot them, not even the Nazis. The thing to do is to keep the number down."

And the General did it. The U. S., with a population about three times as large as England, had 10,000 C.O.'s, while England, even though it was threatened with invasion, had 60,000. Gen. Hershey kept the number down, even to the point of deciding that Mr. Mayer, who was working against the war, was an indispensable war worker. (And J. Edgar Hoover, the dope, is still looking for the man who blew up the General Electric Works!) The 10,000 C.O.'s were put in the CCC camps, where, it was Gen. Hershey's pious hope, they would be buried. Another 3,000 citizens, who proclaimed non-religious objection, were sent to the penitentiaries, where they converted the honest bank robbers.

Being beforehand, the Government, through the legislative branch, wrote into the Draft Act a provision that religious objectors should suffer no discrimination but be given "work of national importance," providing, in addition, that this work was to be under civilian direction and that the C.O.'s were "not to be paid in excess of the pay given members of the armed forces."

The Government, of course, was fooling, just as it was fooling when its silver-tongued spokesman assured us that

we were not going down the road to war. The work of national importance consisted of weed-pulling, and the C.O.'s, in line with the sly Congressional dictum that they were not to be paid in excess of soldiers, were given no pay at all, no accident or death compensation, and no dependency allotment. They were not only unhonored, and unsung, but badly fed, badly clothed, and badly housed.

"But," say you, "they wouldn't fight for their country." "But," say I, by way of devastating reply, "they were following the course prescribed by Jesus Christ, and this is supposed to be a Christian country." To which you can only reply that this isn't a Christian country, to which I can only reply that I agree.

The peace churches—the Quakers, Brethren, and Mennonites—put up the \$35 a month (when necessary) which Gen. Hershey, who went right on saying that his mother was a Mennonite, collected from each C.O. for the privilege of being a C.O. The money went to the War Effort. The churches ran some of the camps and acted as a buffer between the C.O.'s and the Government. The churches were pretty polite about it all, and the church camps were fairly quiet.

The camps run by the Government were something else again. Their tenants were C.O.'s who declined to go to Church camps and were, in large measure, fairly tough customers in the matter of principles. From the outset the Government camps, of which Big Flats was one, were hotbeds of hell-raising.

There were strikes, slow-downs, and even sabotage. The whole Civilian Public Service system—the C.O. setup—was run by the Army in flat violation of Congressional declaration that it was to be under civilian control. Since the Army is a fool, it did not know how to handle the situation. The strikers, etc., were thrown into black holes, pinched, slapped, bullied, and otherwise subjected to what the Army regards as rough stuff. But C.O.'s are not soldiers of the U. S., they are soldiers of Christ, and the rough stuff simply made tougher customers out of them.

What they were fighting was the introduction of slave labor into America. Loving their country and its free institutions, they were ready to die, in their own way, to save the principle of free labor and oppose the revival of human slavery. The fact that they were the slaves didn't bother them much, and most of them kept their sense of humor. What bothered them was the principle.

Things got worse and worse. The toughest customers were sent to a Siberia in Gernfask, Mich., and when the Government's director of that camp resigned, proclaiming that "the Selective Service treatment of conscientious objectors is the re-establishment of slavery," they were sent to another Siberia in Minersville, Calif.

Meanwhile, in spite of everybody's efforts to keep the cause of prosperity going, the war collapsed in an Allied victory, and everybody forgot all about the C.O.'s. But the boys are still there, being demobilized as slowly as that fool, the Army, dares to demobilize them. And they are still raising hell.

At the Government camp in Glendora, Calif., the slow-down has reached the point of total disintegration. As soon as its leaders—the FBI ferrets them out—are sent to Siberia new leaders appear. I am not sure that I approve of the slow-down technique—it's a little too much like violence—but that is a minor point. The important fact is that the forgotten men of 1946 are still carrying on the crusade against human slavery in America, and the Army is getting foolisher and foolisher.

At Big Flats, whither the slowdown spread from Glendora, one of the C.O.'s decided to use the speed-up way of individual protest. One day the camp foreman came in and

* Milton Mayer is on the faculty at University of Chicago, and is a well-known free-lance writer.

told the director, "This joint ain't no camp, it's a menagerie. You can't make some of them work, and you can't make some of them quit working. I'm resigning before I go nuts."

The fight at Glendora and Minersville has been picked up by the American Civil Liberties Union and by some of the West Coast clergymen and labor leaders. I don't have the addresses of the Glendora and Big Flats Defense Committee on me. Send your money and send it fast, and send as much as you can, to Director Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Nobody cares about the forgotten men of 1946, and I do not much care myself. They are vestiges, left-overs, unfinished business of this country's second futile attempt to bomb its way into Beulah Land. The great issue is not the injustices done under conscription, but conscription itself. If we can't beat peacetime conscription, there is not a great deal of point in quibbling over the kind of treatment to be given to cons. objectors.

Objector Status

Editorial: *The Washington Post*, Washington, D. C.

Attorney General Clark has announced that the Government is considering amnesty for those World War II conscientious objectors over draft age still in prison. His well-justified move is in line with action by other countries and a similar step taken here after the last war. It would be appropriate now for the Government to evince an equal concern over the rights of the 2,500-odd conscientious objectors who remain conscripted in Civilian Public Service camps. The plight of these men is high-lighted by a strike of objectors in California over alleged unfair treatment.

Congress, in accepting the principle of freedom of conscience when the Selective Service Act was first adopted, provided that conscientious objectors should be assigned to "work of national importance" under civilian direction. It also provided that such men should be paid for their work at rates not exceeding those paid the Army. None of these conditions has been met. Although some objectors distinguished themselves by volunteering for starvation and disease experiments and others worked in mental hospitals and as forest fire "smoke jumpers," these assignments were largely the results of their own persistence. Many others, through no fault of their own, were given work of no more importance than digging ditches. Although church groups administered most Civilian Public Service camps, the entire conscientious objector program remained under essentially military control and was subject to the whims of Selective Service. Finally, not one cent was paid by the Government to conscientious objectors. Often they had to pay for their own support. They received no family allotments, no insurance, and often had inadequate medical attention. The discharge rate of objectors, though improved, has lagged far behind that of the Army for no good reason. Conditions under which men with differences of conscience have been forced to serve resemble slave labor to all too realistic a degree.

The agency responsible for most of this shabby treatment of war objectors has been Selective Service. High Selective Service officials throughout the war reflected the attitude that objectors were criminals. They took upon themselves a mandate never intended by Congress in openly regarding the Civilian Public Service program as punishment. They have boasted of such treatment of objectors and resisted all attempts to improve their status.

In our opinion, the Department of Justice would be committing an error in prosecuting the 45 California strikers arrested for failure to perform their duties, even though they may be guilty of technically violating the law in order to focus attention on conditions. Instead, the department might

well bring pressure on Selective Service for a more equitable policy toward objectors and request an explanation of why the rules set up by Congress were frustrated. Conscientious objectors do not in any sense merit favoritism, but they do deserve fair play and justice, and so far they have not had a great deal of either.

Department Store Workers Still At Depression Wage Scales

FRAN ALLEN *

In New York City 45,000 men and women are working in dressed up sweatshops, for as little as \$22 per week, with the majority receiving less than \$30, although reports issued by the New York State Department of Labor and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that even a single woman living with her family required, in August of 1946, \$36.87 for adequate maintenance and protection of health.

The depression wage scales paid by the department store industry are forcing these workers and their families into a sordid, marginal, hand-to-mouth standard of living, but the five CIO unions, representing 20,000 workers in Macy's, Bloomingdales, Gimbels, Sak's 34th Street, Sterns and Hearn's, are tied to no-strike positions by contracts signed in wartime or before end of effective OPA.

The department store managements, individually but unanimously, claim that the competitiveness of the industry prevents one store from establishing adequate salaries, yet the stores have callously refused to adjust wages on an industry-wide basis. During the war years the department store workers moved from the third lowest to the lowest paid industrial group in the city, while the stores chalked up sales volumes and profits putting them squarely into the BIG business category.

Typical of the new profit records being set was the recent report of R. H. Macy for the fiscal period ending August 3, 1946: a net profit after taxes of \$9,335,000. This is an increase of 118% over 1941 profits. Yet the wages at Macy's, while they are the highest in the organized stores, average only \$34.31 per week. The median wage is \$33 per week, and 34.3% of the workers in the world's largest store earn \$30 per week or less. Other stores range downward to average wages of \$28 per week. Prominent citizens, recognizing the social problem created by these substandard wages, are sponsoring a Citizens Committee for Decent Department Store Wages, to break the press campaign of silence on the situation, and build public and consumer demand for living wages in the entire industry.

* Fran Allen is Publicity Director for the Department Store Employees Union.

WHAT BECAME OF HITLER?

The Bulldozer, excellent Seabeas paper edited by Lt. Comdr. W. G. Irwin and BM2c F. S. Crehan, publishes this anecdote:

"One more question, Daddy. What finally became of this terrible Hitler?"

"For a long while, my child, nobody knew. There were stories he was hiding in Spain, Japan, Argentina, Eire. You took your choice. Then, in 1960, a rug collector named Donnerblitz died of indigestion in Chicago. That was Hitler. He had been living there 16 years."

"But didn't any one guess, Daddy?"

"No. You see, except for changing his name and shaving off his mustache, he went right on being himself, damning Russia, England, democracy, the Jews, the Government at Washington and and the U.S.A. in general. So the neighbors took him for just an ordinary American crackpot and never gave him a second thought."

—IN FACT, New York

Executive Secretary's Report

JACK R. McMICHAEL

(This is that portion of the executive secretary's recent report to the Executive Committee which deals with domestic issues.)

Let us consider the MFSS program concerned with the struggle against inflation. During the last few months, the pressures of inflation have reached their greatest height. Congress so emasculated OPA legislation as to make certain the continuation of present inflationary trends. The American people have been spending up their wartime savings and moving toward the time when they will not be able to buy back the goods which they produce. Perhaps there was a shadow of this coming recession in the recent drop in the stock market. In the months when we were without price control prices sky-rocketed, and we had the largest rise in living costs in one month that has ever been recorded by the Bureau of Labor Statistics since it began collecting data in 1913. During the period between June 28 and July 25 the BLS General Index of the primary prices of twenty-eight basic commodities (foodstuffs and raw materials) went up about 25 per cent. This compared with an increase in this same index of only 13 per cent for the entire period between May 17, 1943, and June 28, 1946. This means that during the 27-day period when we had no price control, this index went up eighty times as much per day as it did during the preceding three years and forty-two days under price control. During the period between June 15 and July 15 (part of which was the period when we had price control), the consumers' price index (according to BLS) increased throughout the Nation 5.5 per cent. This compares with an average increase of less than two-thirds of 1 per cent a month from May 1943 to June 1946. The recent inflationary jump has been particularly marked in the field of basic necessities, especially food. In the period between June 29 and August 3 after ceilings were removed on certain products, a Consumers' union survey indicated that there were the following price rises: Milk, 16 per cent; Butter, 24 per cent; Cheese, 41 per cent; Hamburger, 63.5 per cent; Bacon, 57 per cent; Lard, 90.3 per cent; Canned Meats, 24 per cent; Flour, over 36 per cent; Shortening, 32 per cent; Oleomargarine, 35 per cent; Mayonnaise, 52 per cent. All of this shows clearly what happens to prices now when controls are removed. The Decontrol Board itself on August 20 testified to advances in wholesale prices from 35 to 80 per cent. The New York Times wrote that the increase in food prices of 13.8 per cent between June 15 and July 15 was the greatest monthly increase in history. The Labor Research Association states that between April 1945 and June 1946 the "real earnings" of factory workers declined 18 per cent because of a drop in weekly wages and a rise in living costs. This was before the great upsurge in prices just referred to. We can see that a large additional slash in living standards and real earnings has come to American workers in these recent inflationary months.

And if this recent period has been alarming from the standpoint of inflationary price rises, it has also been alarming from the standpoint of the protection of labor's rights, with which the MFSS program has also been greatly concerned. It was in this period that Congress passed the Hobbs and Case anti-labor bills, and the former was signed by the President. It was in this period also that President Truman made his hysteria-inciting speech to the Congress in connection with the Railway strike and introduced severely repressive labor legislation. On the day that President Truman made his speech to Congress, he had already received a letter of complete capitulation from Messrs. Whitney and Johnson of the Railway labor union. They offered to call off the strike (voted for by the Railway workers in overwhelming vote) immediately on the basis of the terms proposed by the President's own fact-finding board and already accepted by Railway corporations. The President made no reply to

this offer and did not mention having received this in his speech to the Congress. He proposed rather that a special bill be passed by the Congress under the provisions of which any workers whom the President considered to have satisfactory conditions and to be engaged in essential work could be drafted into the Army and forced to work under dictated conditions. This was amazing legislation to be introduced in a democratic country, smacking very much of involuntary servitude. But the House of Representatives passed this bill in forty minutes' time that very Saturday afternoon. No hearings were held. The accused were given no opportunity to be heard or to defend themselves. In fact, the very real and many grievances of the Railway workers were never given a fair public airing and were completely neglected by the President. Fortunately, strong immediate action by MFSS and other groups helped to bring a condition of relative sanity to the Senate and this dangerous piece of legislation never passed that chamber of the Congress. In this domestic-economic field the Federation has every reason to continue to press the fight against growing inflation and to work to safeguard the continually threatened rights of organized labor.

Another area of Federation concern during the past year has been that of ethnic democracy. Here again developments have been most disturbing in recent months. Great injustice done to the entire Negro community of Columbia, Tennessee, has been met with a grand Jury whitewash, with which the U. S. Department of Justice has cooperated. In Georgia's primary election race, Eugene Talmadge was elected to the Governorship of Georgia for the next four years on a county unit vote basis, despite the fact that his opponent received more popular votes. Talmadge had run on a white-supremacy platform. He had openly acknowledged the support of the Ku Klux Klan. Almost immediately after his victory, four Negroes were riddled with bullets by a large number of unmasked white men in the open daylight in a Georgia county. Two of these Negroes were women and two were men. Only one was accused of having committed any crime. These particular murders are but four of many such murders and lynchings in various American communities during these recent months. They are part of the picture of Ku Klux Klan growth in both North and South in this period. They have made this literally a time of lynch terror unequalled in recent American history. These events serve to shatter any optimistic illusions which put faith in evolutionary progress and gradualism, discounting the need for strong Federal measures such as the anti-lynching legislation so long sabotaged, etc. There is every reason for the Federation to send vigorous communication to the President, to the Attorney-General, and to other appropriate officials on behalf of an intensive campaign aimed at protecting the seriously threatened rights of the Negro people and of other minority groups. We should be prepared to work cooperatively with all organizations in this field.

This recent period has also seen the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee filibustered to death in the Senate and denied the opportunity to come to the House for discussion and vote by the reactionary House Rules Committee.

In fact, last month the Congress adjourned with a tragic record as far as the whole gamut of social legislation in which MFSS has been interested is concerned. The Federal anti-poll tax passed in the House overwhelmingly, but was killed in the Senate by a filibuster, with no opportunity for real discussion and a vote being given in that body. No action was taken on the important Wagner-Ellender-Taft bipartisan housing bill, so important at this time of housing

shortage. Like many other important bills this one died in Committee—the House Banking and Currency Committee. No action on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell National Health Act. No action on the proposed broadening of Social Security benefits and the liberalizing of unemployment compensation as recommended by the Social Security Board. The sixty-five cents Minimum Wage Bill was killed. The Federal Aid to Education Bill was never allowed to come to a vote. President Truman's recommendation for special legislation on behalf of unemployment compensation for workers in the transition period was killed. All of this points to the great importance of the November elections.

(That section of Mr. McMichael's report which deals with international issues will appear next month.)

Ratliff Memorial Library Books Ready

The following books have been purchased for the library and may be borrowed by Federation members for a three-week period free of charge, postage paid by the library. After the three-week period, a charge of 2 cents per day will be made. Books should be ordered from "Library, Methodist Federation for Social Service, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City."

Adamic, Louis: My Native Land
Adamic, Louis: Dinner at the White House
Beard, Charles: American Government and Politics
Belfrage, Cedric: A Faith to Free the People
Commons, John and Associates: History of Labor in the United States
Davis, Jerome: Behind Soviet Power
Fast, Howard: Freedom Road
Forman, Harrison: Report From Red China
Gervasi, Frank: To Whom Palestine?
Harris, Herbert: American Labor
Hayek, Friedrich: The Road to Serfdom
Hayes, Carleton J. H.: War-Time Mission to Spain
Huberman, Leo: The Truth About Unions
Kingdon, Frank: An Unknown Man
Lauterbach, Richard: These Are the Russians
Logan, Spencer: A Negro's Faith in America
Mariano, John: The Veteran and His Marriage
Miller, Arthur: Focus
Myers, James: Do You Know Labor?
McMahon, Francis: A Catholic Looks at the World
Niebuhr, R.: This Ministry (The Contribution of Henry Sloane Coffin)
Oxnam, G. Bromley: Labor and Tomorrow's World
Page, Kirby: The Will of God For These Days
Page, Kirby: Now Is the Time to Prevent a Third World War
Plenn, Abel: Wind in the Olive Trees
Sayers and Kahn: The Plot Against the Peace
Smedley, Agnes: Battle Hymn of China
Smith, Roy: It All Happened Once Before
Yoder, Dale: Labor Economics and Labor Problems

Other books are being added to this library and additions will be listed in next month's BULLETIN.

"Caesar and Cleopatra" Wins

"Caesar and Cleopatra," the first English-made picture to win this honor, has been voted "Boxoffice" magazine's September Blue Ribbon Award by the National Screen Council. The Council's choice is based on the winning picture's outstanding merit and its suitability for family entertainment. This film is a United Artists release in this country.

"Notorious" (RKO) was the runner-up for the Award, and Honorable Mention goes to "Courage of Lassie" (MGM), "Monsieur Beaucaire" (Para.), "Canyon Passage" (Univ.), "Claudia and David" (20th-Fox), and "Till the End of Time" (RKO).

We Can Get Along With Russia

(Continued from page 109)

Britain and the lack of tangible results on their request to borrow for rehabilitation purposes may be regarded as another evidence of strengthening of an anti-Soviet bloc.

Finally, our resistance to her attempts to obtain warm water ports and her own security system in the form of "friendly" neighboring states seems, from the Russian point of view, to clinch the case. After twenty-five years of isolation and after having achieved the status of a major power, Russia believes that she is entitled to recognition of her new status. Our interest in establishing democracy in Eastern Europe, where democracy by and large has never existed, seems to her an attempt to re-establish the encirclement of unfriendly neighbors which was created after the last war and which might serve as a springboard of still another effort to destroy her.

What Should We Do?

If this analysis is correct, and there is ample evidence to support it, the action to improve the situation is clearly indicated. The fundamental objective of such action should be to allay any reasonable Russian grounds for fear, suspicion and distrust. We must recognize that the world has changed and that today there can be no "One World" unless the United States and Russia can find some way of living together.

For example, most of us are firmly convinced of the soundness of our position when we suggest the internationalization and defortification of the Danube or of the Dardanelles, but we would be horrified and angered by any Russian counterproposal that would involve also the internationalizing and disarming of Suez or Panama. We must recognize that to the Russians these seem to be identical situations.

We should ascertain from a fresh point of view what Russia believes to be essential to her own security as a prerequisite to the writing of the peace and to cooperation in the construction of a world war. We should be prepared to judge her requirements against the background of what we ourselves and the British have insisted upon as essential to our respective security. We should be prepared, even at the expense of risking epithets of appeasement, to agree to reasonable Russian guarantees of security. The progress made during June and July on the Italian and other treaties indicates that we can hope to arrive at understanding and agreement on this aspect of the problem.

We should not pursue further the question of the veto in connection with atomic energy, a question which is irrelevant and should never have been raised. We should be prepared to negotiate a treaty which will establish a definite sequence of events for the establishment of international control and development of atomic energy. This, I believe, is the most important single question, and the one on which the present trend is definitely toward deadlock rather than ultimate agreement.

We should make an effort to counteract the irrational fear of Russia which is being systematically built up in the American people by certain individuals and publications. The slogan that communism and capitalism, regimentation and democracy, cannot continue to exist in the same world is, from a historical point of view, pure propaganda.

GIVE A "BULLETIN MEMBERSHIP" FOR CHRISTMAS!

Why not give your social-action minded friends, or your friends who ought to be social-action minded, a \$2.00 membership in the Federation? For nine months of the year, October through June, this will bring them the new 16-page SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, chock-full of the kind of pointed news and editorializing that they need.

A special form for this gift is being prepared and will reach you through the mail. Use it!

Religion and Labor—Allies for Freedom

REV. CHARLES C. WEBBER *

A titanic struggle is taking place today not only in the world arena, or in the cockpit called Europe, but also right here in the United States, between two gigantic adversaries or gladiators—Big Business and Organized Labor.

Big Business is struggling for profits, power and the maintenance of a system, not of free but of monopolistic private enterprise. Organized Labor is struggling for security, peace and freedom: struggling for security in the form of living wages, full employment and adequate protection against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accidents and old age; struggling for peace, both international and industrial, so that the sons and daughters of the common people need not be killed in war any more; struggling for freedom—freedom to organize and to construct a world society wherein there will be freedom from want and freedom from fear.

As the gladiators of Big Business and Organized Labor are struggling today—Big Business for profits and power, Organized Labor for security, peace and freedom—we, the leaders and the representatives of the Jewish and of the Catholic and Protestant faiths, find ourselves, figuratively or imaginatively speaking, seated, not in the colosseum of ancient Rome, but in a modern world-encompassing colosseum equipped with television, radar, radio and teletype devices which enable us to observe the combat between Big Business and Organized Labor, not only in Detroit, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, Seattle, Pittsburgh, New York and Washington, D. C., but also in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, London, Paris, Berlin, Lisbon, Rome, Cairo, Bombay, Calcutta, Melbourne, Manila, Shanghai and Tokyo.

Immediately before us in the United States section of the world colosseum we see the giant General Motors fighting the United Automobile Workers Union-CIO; a short distance away two somewhat smaller, yet huge giants, General Electric and Westinghouse, are engaged in exchanging blows with the United Electrical Workers Union-CIO; while off to one side the powerful United States Steel Corporation of the Iron and Steel Institute and the United Steelworkers Union-CIO are slowly binding up the wounds they received in their recent long drawn-out contest. Looking out through one of the many gates opening into the United States section of the colosseum we see two old, yet formidable, foes gradually approaching, making faces at one another as they stride along—the coal mine owners of the U.S.A. and the United Mine Workers of America—A. F. of L.

Glancing over to the ring labeled Europe and Africa we see the corporate interests and survivors of the international cartels in Germany, Italy, Spain, France, Great Britain and South Africa getting ready to do battle with the trade unions of those countries now affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions. In the Argentina section of the South American ring we note that the adherents of Colonel Peron and his and their opponents are already cutting each other's throats, while in that part of our world colosseum that is shadowed from the rays of the setting sun we can discern the preliminary sparring between the remnants of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi Japanese corporations and the Japanese trade unions that have just emerged since V-J Day from their underground cocoons.

The over-all scene in the world colosseum to those who love warfare may be glorious, but to those who desire security, peace and freedom from want and fear it is bestial, brutal, and tragically unnecessary. The 98-day-old unnecessary combat between General Motors and the UAW-CIO, for example, caused wage losses to 175,000 strikers of over \$107,000,000. Just what this loss has meant in terms of

inadequate food, clothing and medical attention for hundreds of thousands of God's children as well as in suffering of body, mind and soul, is incalculable.

Which Course of Action?

Religious leaders of the Jewish and of the Catholic and Protestant Christian faiths—a time of decision is at hand! We must make a choice among four possible courses of procedure!

Course I. We can be spectators—mere spectators—of Big Business' struggle for profits and power, and of Organized Labor's struggle for security, peace and freedom. We can read the newspaper and magazine accounts of the struggle while safe within the walls of our study. We can listen to our favorite radio broadcasters give a blow by blow description of the fight as we recline on our living-room sofa. We can exclaim, as we pass by on the other side of a mass picket-line, "How terrible!" and "Why don't those rough, dirty, communistic, workers stop striking?" Shocked yet fascinated spectators—yes—but that is *all!* We need do nothing about the basic causes of strikes—we need not even contribute to strike relief funds, if we follow this course.

Course II. Sick at heart at the spectacle in our world colosseum of man's brutality to man in the struggle between Big Business and Organized Labor, sick in mind and spirit because of man's stubborn and unintelligent adherence to an economic system that by its very nature precipitates class and international war as well as scarcity in the place of plenty, we can run away from the horrors of the conflict to an ivory tower on a vine-clad church or synagogue. There we can endeavor to forget the battle down in the marketplace arena and to appease our conscience through seeking to establish right personal relationships with a "status quo" God—a God absolutely neutral in the economic struggle, or we can excuse ourselves from taking action by conducting elaborate, ritualistic, worship services of an "absentee" God—services that have no relevance to present day issues.

Course III. Fearful that Big Business may be worsted in its struggle for profits; fearful that the hand that feeds us may not be able to feed us as well in the future in case Organized Labor is victorious; consciously or unconsciously motivated by economic determinism we can leap down into the market-place arena and align ourselves with Big Business in its endeavors to crush Organized Labor.

Course IV. Believing that Labor and Religion are natural allies for freedom; that Labor in its endeavors to establish an economy of abundance for all—with full production and full employment and with adequate protection against the hazards of accidents, sickness, unemployment and old age—is working for the establishment of the commonwealth of God and man on earth, we can leap down into the marketplace arena and align ourselves with Organized Labor imperfect, sinful and handicapped as it is in its struggle for security, peace, and freedom, and in its struggle against Big Business with its seeking after profits.

Major Questions

There are four questions that arise in the mind of followers of Moses, the Hebrew prophets and Jesus, which demand an answer before a decision can be made as to which of the four courses of action already stated should be followed. The four questions are as follows:

I. What evidence is there that sustains the contention that Big Business is struggling for profits and power, causing poverty midst potential plenty, and class and international war?

II. What evidence sustains the contention that Organized Labor is struggling for security, peace and freedom?

* Rev. Charles C. Webber, former Executive Secretary of the Federation, is now Director of the Virginia CIO-PAC.

III. What religious ideals, beliefs and convictions are there that make it necessary for religious persons and groups to align themselves with Organized Labor?

IV. What programs of action—parallel and joint—should Religious Groups and Organized Labor carry out in their struggle for security, peace and freedom?

I. BIG BUSINESS-STRUGGLE FOR PROFITS AND POWER

A. AMERICAN MONOPOLY POWER. Lewis Corey in "Let's Keep the Tools of Plenty" (a Post War World Council pamphlet, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), states that:

"In 1937 a handful of 1,294 monopoly corporations got 61.9 per cent of all corporate net income. These monopoly corporations represent less than 3-10 of 1 per cent of all corporations.

"150 giant banks control more than one-half of the nation's banking resources.

"300 giant corporations got 80 per cent of the primary war contracts.

"Monopoly has exploited the war emergency and grown stronger. It now wants control of the \$15,000,000,000 of war plants built with public money."

Recent CIO publications such as "The Road to Freedom—Higher Basic Wages and Salaries" (205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York), and the "CIO News" (718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.), have pointed out that:

"The corporations have gained some \$4,000,000,000 in new plants paid for by the government."

"American corporations, in 55 months of war, have accumulated \$52 billion in profits after payment of taxes. Half of this amount they distributed among themselves as stockholders, and the other half they keep in their bulging corporation treasuries. On top of that, business has accumulated another \$30 billion in carry-back credits in taxes. This simply means that if a business enterprise fails to make as much profit as it made before the war, it can ask the U. S. Treasury for a check to make up the difference."

"If the U. S. Steel Corporation should only manage to break even in 1946, it will receive \$67,340,000 from the public coffer. General Motors will receive \$157,600,000."

"During the war years the total assets of the steel industry rose more than a billion dollars. General Motors had an increase in net worth during the war years of \$200,000,000. Its earned surplus at the end of 1944 was \$644,600,000."

B. BIG BUSINESS AND ITS STRUGGLES FOR PROFITS. The Michigan Supreme Court, in the famous case of Henry Ford versus Dodge Brothers, declared that the primary purpose of the Board of Directors of a corporation was (not to produce automobiles or steel) to pay dividends to the stockholders. It is clear from this decision and others similar to it that corporations are compelled by the very nature of our capitalistic economy to participate in a struggle for profits and to succeed in that struggle if they wish to remain in existence.

The record of monopoly oligarchs, especially the aircraft corporation in 1940, engaging in sit-down strikes against the national defense program until Congress repealed the Vinson Naval Expansion Act 8% profit limitation and adopted tax legislation providing for five year amortization of new construction, demonstrates that Big Business, in its struggle for profits, acts contrary to the welfare of the nation itself.

The oil men who participated in the Tea Pot Dome Scandal and the questionable record of Mr. Pauley's drive for a perpetual lease on California tidelands oil-producing property, show to what lengths men will go when dominated by the profit motive. The world-wide struggle on the part of

gigantic corporations for raw materials and for markets in which to dispose of the surplus goods their own workers are unable to buy because of inadequate wages—all in the hope of huge profits—is but further proof of the fact that capitalism precipitates class and international war.

C. BIG BUSINESS AND ITS PROFITS. Recent studies reveal that:

"The average profits of American (U. S. A.) corporations after taxes for the four prewar years 1936-39 were \$3.3 billion."

"The net profits after taxes in 1940 were approximately \$4.9 billion.

"The net profits after taxes in 1941 were approximately \$7.0 billion.

"The net profits after taxes in 1942 were approximately \$9.0 billion.

"The net profits after taxes in 1943 were approximately \$10.0 billion.

"The net profits after taxes in 1944 were approximately \$9.0 billion.

"The net profits after taxes in 1945 were approximately 7 billion."

According to Chester Bowles, in his testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee on February 18, 1945:

"American industry on the whole is extremely profitable. . . . Corporation profits as a whole before taxes are expected to total in 1945 some \$22 billion compared to a little under \$25 billion in 1944.

"The boards of directors of American corporations declared a billion and a half in dividends in the final quarter of 1945—the period of economic readjustment. This was just as much as they declared in the final quarter of 1944. And total dividends last year were right up to the 1944 level. Needless to say, I know none of my business friends have had their salaries reduced since V-J Day."

Speaking about business men's salaries the UAW-CIO claims that the U. S. Treasury has given out a report showing that C. E. Wilson, the president of General Motors, received in 1941 from his salary, bonus, and other company paid compensations a total of \$472,458; in 1942, a total of \$392,507, and in 1943 a total of \$459,041.

The UAW-CIO further states that General Motors accumulated dividends during the war years of \$630,000,000; that the profits after taxes for the years 1936-39 averaged \$181,000,000 and for the years 1940-44 averaged \$174,000,000. The United Steelworkers Union asserts that "during the war years the steel industry paid out dividends totaling \$750,000,000."

D. BIG BUSINESS SEEKS TO CRUSH ORGANIZED LABOR. The following series of events have convinced many trade union members that the very life of their organizations is in danger:

1. The refusal for months on the part of General Motors and of the steel companies connected with the Iron and Steel Institute to bargain collectively in good faith with the UAW-CIO and the USA-CIO.

2. The refusal of General Motors and of the steel industry to accept President Truman's wage increase recommendations and those of his Fact-Finding Committees.

3. The January 9, 1946 Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, luncheon, attended by top officials of General Motors, Bethlehem Steel Company, American Rolling Mills, General Electric, Westinghouse and representatives of the packing house industry, held, as interpreted by analysts of the present conflict between Big Business and Organized Labor, in order that plans might be made to recapture the White House and to break the trade unions. (President C. E. Wilson of General Motors, who was present at the luncheon, later tes-

tified before a National Labor Relations Board hearing in Detroit, "It is too bad that that group—of Big Businessmen—cannot make the decisions for the country." Furthermore, under questioning at the Detroit NLRB hearing, the General Motors President heartily endorsed a Henry C. Simmon's pamphlet circulated by his economist, Stephen Du Bral, which states, "For my part, I simply cannot conceive of any tolerable or enduring order in which there exists wide-spread organization of workers along occupation, industrial or functional lines.")

4. The bitter fight on the part of the General Motors top officials against the continuance of the "maintenance of union membership" clause in the contract with the UAW-CIO, so necessary for the union, if it is to maintain its existence, vigorously led by C. E. Wilson on the grounds that it is a form of compulsory unionism.

5. The nationwide advertisements containing misleading statements or not giving the whole truth, as for example the steel industry's not indicating that their workers had the right to strike after the war and that their strike for higher wages was not in violation of their contract.

6. The National Association of Manufacturers' national campaign against the CIO and for the lifting or doing away with all price controls in peacetime—the latter requiring, of course, the abolition of the OPA, now virtually accomplished.

7. The killing of the FEPC Bill by a filibuster of Southern Senators, by Senators who are opposed to Organized Labor's endeavors to secure living wages for Negro as well as white workers.

8. Senator Byrd's (a Big Businessman from Virginia) introduction in the U. S. Senate of a bill calling for the incorporation of trade unions.

II. ORGANIZED LABOR AND ITS STRUGGLE FOR SECURITY, PEACE AND FREEDOM

A. LABOR STRIKES FOR LIVING WAGES AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. Organized Labor and the American people as a whole following V-J Day were confronted with the possibility that, due to the elimination of overtime pay and down-grading, their national pay envelope would be cut by \$20 billion in the ensuing year. This cut, coupled with the threat of inflation and the rising cost of living (Governmental officials estimate a 33 per cent increase since January 1, 1941; the joint AFL and the CIO Committee 45 per cent), precipitated the demand for the 30 per cent wage increases.

When General Motors and the officials of the oil, steel, meat packing and electrical appliance industries refused time and time again to bargain collectively in good faith with the union representatives on the living wage issue, the workers not only voted by overwhelming majorities to strike, but finally did go out on strike—not because they wanted to but because there was nothing else they could do to escape from involuntary servitude at less than living wages.

They struck for the future security and prosperity of America! They struck for full employment and full production! They struck to save America from another devastating depression! They struck "to keep excessive profits from clogging up the blood stream of the American economic life!" They struck to keep the cost of living from mounting to ever higher and higher levels.

"The CIO unions," according to Philip Murray, "are rendering a great public service to the nation. They are trying to see to it that there is adequate consuming power to provide jobs for all those seeking and able to work."

General Omar Bradley, of the Veterans Administration, in a recent statement, pointed out that there are approximately 1,000,000 unemployed veterans of the last war right now and that another group of 1,500,000 will be seeking jobs within a few weeks with little hope of finding them. "Only one out of every nine wounded and disabled veterans," said Bradley, "has been able to get a job."

During the war Organized Labor lived up to its No-Strike pledge by working 99.75 per cent of the total man-hours

required to produce the instrumentalities of war. And it more than made up for the time lost by strikes by working long overtime hours, by working on holidays and during its ordinary vacation periods.

Now that the war is over Organized Labor is striving once more, this time through its struggle for the security of annual living wages, full employment and an economy of abundance, for the welfare of our nation as a whole.

B. LABOR WORKS FOR SOCIAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. Organized Labor has supported and is supporting social legislation in behalf of all workers, non-union as well as union, as is demonstrated by the following list of Acts and Bills, for whose adoption it was mainly responsible in the past and for whose enactment it is now spear-heading the drive:

1. Acts already on the statute books in the adoption of which Organized Labor played an important part: (a) The National Labor Relations Act; (b) Child Labor Legislation; (c) Labor Legislation Protecting Women; (d) Workmen's Compensation Laws; (e) The Social Security Act; (f) The Wage and Hours Act—40c an hour for a 40-hour week and time-and-a-half for all hours over 40; (g) Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA); (h) The Bretton Woods Fund and Bank for Reconstruction and Development; (i) The Full Employment Act.

2. Bills now before Congress for the adoption of which Organized Labor is spear-heading the drive: (a) FEPC bill providing for a permanent federal agency to prevent discrimination in employment; (b) Bill for the Abolition of Poll Tax; (c) The 65c Minimum Wage bill; (d) The Wagner-Murray-Dingel bill providing complete security for the worker and his family; (e) Missouri Valley Authority bill; (f) The Bailey bill which repeals provision of present tax law that guarantees corporations profits at the 1936-39 level through Treasury refunds; (g) Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill which sets forth a national housing policy; (h) The \$25 Weekly Unemployment Compensation for 26 Weeks Maximum Period bill.

C. LABOR ORGANIZES AND EDUCATES ITS MEMBERSHIP FOR POLITICAL ACTION. Organized Labor, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., has a program of education of its members in the rights, duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

This program calls for the carrying out of the following activities by local unions, and by city, county, state, national and international labor organizations:

1. Campaigns to get all of the potential voters in the poll tax states to pay their poll tax.

2. Campaigns to get all of the potential voters in the United States—veterans, women, workers by hand and brain, farmers and those who have just reached voting age—to register.

3. Campaigns to get all of the registered voters out to the polls on election day so that they can vote for the people's candidates for public office, for representatives who, if elected, will in turn vote to prevent discrimination in employment and to maintain and extend democracy at home and abroad.

D. LABOR MAINTAINS AND SUPPORTS WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. Organized Labor for the past quarter of a century, bearing in mind that knowledge is power, and that its members "do not live by bread alone," has developed an educational and cultural program consisting of the following activities:

1. Classes and discussion groups dealing with trade union problems, parliamentary law, how to speak at union meetings, how to handle shop grievances and how to combat fascism at home and abroad.

2. Health Centers and vacation camps for both children and adults.

3. The presentation of Labor musical and dramatic productions.

III. RELIGIOUS IDEALS, BELIEFS AND CONVICTIONS THAT MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR RELIGIOUS PERSONS AND GROUPS TO ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH ORGANIZED LABOR.

A. *A BELIEF IN A LIVING GOD.* The basic belief that makes it necessary for religious persons and groups to align themselves with Organized Labor in its struggle for security, peace and freedom, is a belief in a living God,—a God of love and justice, who is working for the establishment of His commonwealth and that of man upon the earth, for the establishment of a planned society with economic abundance; a God not of the "status quo," but a "Revolutionary God," who is seeking to change us as individuals and to change our economic institutions so that we as individuals will use our talents, be they one or many, in working for the common good and for the achievement of social justice, and so that our economic institutions, instead of allowing a scarcity of goods, will produce an abundance of the necessities of life for all.

B. *A BELIEF IN THE GOD OF MOSES.* The God of Moses, who is our God as well, inspired Moses, when he saw his people compelled to make bricks without straw, subjected to a speed-up process, to lead them on a walk-out from the land of Egypt through the desert to the Promised Land.

C. *A BELIEF IN THE GOD OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.* A God who, according to the books of Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, commanded employers not "to oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy," a God who, according to Amos, prompted him to say, "Take away from me the noise of thy songs and let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream"; a God who, according to Micah, inspired him to say, "What does God require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God."

D. *A BELIEF IN THE GOD OF JESUS.* A God whose spirit anointed Jesus to preach the Gospel to the poor, who in Jesus' parable of the Day of Judgment required the nations of the world, as well as individuals, "to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and to visit the sick and those in prison" if they desired to enter His Kingdom; a God who motivated Jesus to drive out of the temple the money changers who were robbing the poor; a God who sustained him when he went to the Cross.

E. *A BELIEF IN A GOD OF GRACE AND FORGIVENESS.* A God who, when we are frustrated by our own sins and short-comings, will give us courage to begin anew, a willingness to sacrifice, and the strength to go to a cross if need be "for their sakes"—for the greatest good of the greatest number of God's children.

Immediate Imperatives

IV. A PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. Get the facts in relation to strikes in your community. What grievances have the unions? Are they just? If hunger becomes the deciding factor in the settlement of a dispute, get into action instantly by raising funds for strike relief. Get your church, or young people's society, to give support.

2. Support the workers' demands "for a living wage" in your sermons and by placing an advertisement in your local newspaper similar to the advertisement that six religious leaders in Iowa put in the Quad-City papers: "We have always been concerned with the relationship of wages to living costs. Low wages and the high cost of living mean suffering, deprivation and misery for the American people. We are firmly convinced that prosperity can exist in America only if a high purchasing power and full employment at living wages are maintained."

3. Create public opinion in behalf of the setting up of a Missouri River Valley Authority, a Columbia River Valley Authority, a St. Lawrence River Valley Authority and, through the international cooperation in the Bretton Woods Bank for Reconstruction and Development, of an Amazon River Valley Authority and Yangtze Valley Authority.

4. Create public opinion for the calling of a National Economic Planning Conference at which the representatives of Labor, Management, Agriculture, and Government would discuss the development in the United States of a "mixed" economy in which there would be social ownership of all things necessary for the successful operation of a planned economy; and in which producers and consumers and cooperatives, trade unions and small business enterprises would work together for the common good.

5. Urge the unification of the American Federation of Labor, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods on terms that will be beneficial to all and the inclusion of this unified American labor movement in the World Federation of Trade Unions (the CIO is already affiliated with the WFTU).

6. Organize National Citizens Political Action Committees and groups of Religious Associates of the NCPAC in all of our cities, counties and states so that American citizens other than members of labor unions may cooperate in getting potential voters to pay their poll tax, to register and to vote for the people's candidates for public office.

7. Support the official Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant Social Action movements and endeavor to get them into action in behalf of the social legislation program that has the joint approval of both religious and labor organizations.

8. Encourage Catholics to join the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, Methodists to join the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Presbyterians to join Presbyterian Fellowship for Social Action, members of the Evangelical and Reform Church to join their Council for Social Reconstruction, Baptists to join their Rauschenbusch Fellowship, Unitarians their Fellowship for Social Justice, Episcopalians their Church League for Industrial Democracy; all Protestants the United Christian Council for Democracy, and Catholics, Protestants and Jews the People's Institute of Applied Religion, and the National Religion and Labor Foundation—and help these organizations in standing with Organized Labor in its struggle for security, peace and freedom.

Organized Religious Groups and Organized Labor—Allies for security, peace and freedom—we may, with the help of a living God, win a victory over the forces that are arrayed against us. Let us join hands and set our faces steadfastly toward Jerusalem. Let us march forward with a faith that will enable each one of us to say, "Neither life nor death can separate us from the love of God."

MOVIE OF THE MONTH

"*The Searching Wind*" with Sylvia Sidney and Robert Young.
Seen at the Albee Theatre, Brooklyn, N. Y.

In a better-than-average Hollywood production of Lillian Hellman's fine, indignant play, we look in on the diplomatic goings-on in Europe from World War I to the end of World War II. The rise of fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany is traced with a discernment, anger, and understanding that get across in spite of the limitations of the screen. The U. S. diplomatic corps is scored for its lack of appreciation of the real nature of what was going on in Europe. And the film is outspoken in its condemnation of Munich and the approval which was given to that infamous pact by our President and State Department.

The protagonist of the picture (for whom one feels nothing but antagonism) is a muddled, short-sighted, minor diplomat in the service of the United States who is totally incapable of making decisions or acting according to the dictates of conscience.

Lillian Hellman is one of the most consistent anti-fascists of all our literary Left, and it is a tribute to her incisive writing that so much of her passion for justice survives the usual Hollywood laundering process and gets through to the screen.

Rural Social Action

BY

ROGER ORTMAYER

Congress Fumbled on Fertilizer

In mid-July the House of Representatives by a 204-126 vote turned down the proposal to construct a pilot fertilizer plant in the Mobile, Ala., area. The plan was to make a \$3,000,000 appropriation rider on the Government Corporations bill. The money was to be used by the TVA in construction of a plant with a 50,000 ton yearly production of triple superphosphate fertilizer.

The proposed plant, a step in the direction of a National Fertilizer Program, was to be operated by the government as a demonstration or pilot for the industry. After five years the plant would either be sold to the cooperatives or closed. It would serve as a yardstick for the cartel ridden fertilizer industry and also operate to stimulate high analysis production.

Triple superphosphate, it is claimed, equals the ordinary superphosphate in plant food value at the ratio of 1:2½. That is, one ton of the high grade fertilizer would contain as much in the way of food value as two and a quarter tons of the ordinary goods.

The private fertilizer lobby was on the job as usual with the cry of government in business. They claimed that existing plants were adequate to the job of producing plant food, only raw materials being difficult to obtain. But this country has phosphate stores sufficient for hundreds of years. The trouble is that the scarcity economics of the cartelized fertilizer industry so works that it produces a basic soil deficiency rather than helping it. The soil that needs the fertilizer does not get it. Poor men on poor soil cannot meet the outrageous prices asked by the private fertilizer producers.

The Soil Must Be Fed

A look at some of the demonstration farms of the TVA is testimony to what can be accomplished when an adequate program of soil care is undertaken. Visitors tell of stopping at east Tennessee hill farms which in 1936 were considered as almost useless. Many thought that such sub-marginal land was fit only to plant trees. The price, if anyone could have been induced to buy land divided between broom-sedge and gullies, might have brought \$20 an acre from an optimistic purchaser.

A program was undertaken which included the addition of a direct pasture application of about 60 pounds of P205 per acre. There must be some connection between that and the record of one 52 acre farm which came from a \$500 deficit to a \$3,000 income in 1945. Foodstuff production was doubled and about half as much labor expended. And the land which was hardly worth selling in 1936 was bid on at \$200 per acre (admittedly war inflated prices). At the same time, however, the 45,000 companion test-demonstration farmers have made an *average* increase of production of over 30 per cent.

Soil simply must have returned to it those foods which have been taken out by crops or pasture. This is not the farmer's problem alone. It is a national community situation. If the nation is to continue to be fed, it must make provision to give back that which has been taken from the land.

Devil Take the Chemical Fertilizers!

There is a small but vocally disputations group that devotedly love the soil but hardly wept when Congress refused to build a new fertilizer plant. They eschew all chemical fertilizers and, for want of a better term, are generally grouped under the heading of "bio-dynamic farmers." Their fertilizer comes from vegetable and animal composting and a general practice of "trash farming," which is a refusal

to use deep plowing. They prepare the soil by disking in the plant life that is on it.

An effective presentation of their view is given in J. I. Rodale's book *Pay Dirt*. He enthusiastically promotes composting as entirely adequate as a method of fertilizing ground and the whole process of using chemical fertilizers comes in for a thorough denunciation. The claim is that chemicals create a toxic soil condition in which earthworms and the vital soil bacteria cannot live. Humus is thus destroyed and the land is worse off than in the first place. When their friend Louis Bromfield said that he could "take his commercial fertilizer or leave it alone," a shrill bio-dynamic disciple wrote him off as an outsider; otherwise "he simply wouldn't have a damn thing to do with the stuff!"

C.I.O. and the Farmers

At the National Co-operative Congress in Columbus, Ohio, during September, Walter Reuther laid the political and economic unity of the nation's farmers with the C.I.O. as one of the principal tenets behind a program of freedom and abundance. He recommended a "broad educational and organizational program to pool the economic power of workers and farmers in powerful co-operative enterprises that will challenge and compete with privately owned enterprises."

Claiming that the job calls for both economic and political action, the president of the United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America said that both sections must learn to pull together in the economic field as they will learn to act together at the ballot box.

In testifying that his union was organizing for a drive to organize co-ops in industrial communities throughout the nation, Reuther touched on the point where many have long hoped labor would take hold. When farm and labor groups get together through an identity of economic interest expressed in co-ops, it will be a happy day for the United States.

Land and Price Boom

A Department of Agriculture report states that general land prices have advanced 52 per cent over the pre-war level. The report also states that many of the farms sold last year had been owned by the seller only a short time. Thirty-seven per cent of the farms were bought by people who did not intend to do any farming. At the same time many farm prices are peaked at 222 per cent of the pre-war levels, which sounds like a good inning for the farmers.

Land and price speculation have always brought disaster to the farmer. There is little hope that he will come out of the present upward spiral any better than he has before. Unfortunately land speculation is disastrous not only to the farmer, but to the whole economy. If there is one place a people cannot afford to gamble it is with land, for land is their basic wealth.

Flying Farmers

When the Ohio Flying Farmers' Association was formed in late July, the Buckeye State became the seventeenth to form such a group affiliated with the National Flying Farmers.

Membership is restricted to pilots who make their living by farming. There is such interest in flying that some of the Farm Bureau consumer co-ops have added a line of planes to their wares and report good sales.

British medical advisers in Hong Kong were worried by the swarms of rats on the island. Various poisons tried made little dent in the rodent population. The British began paying a bounty on each dead rat, but had to give that up.

Enterprising Chinese had organized large-scale rat-breeding farms.—Life, Sydney.

Social Issues in Today's World

The General Welfare

WHO SAVED WHAT? About one-fourth of America's families have absolutely no savings either in government bonds or bank accounts, according to a very recent survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics for the Federal Reserve Board. Another 20 per cent had less than \$500 in such liquid assets. Only 18 per cent of America's families had more than \$2,000 saved.

<i>Savings Group</i>	<i>Per cent of All Savings</i>
Top 10%	60.0%
Top 20%	77.0%
Top 30%	87.7%
Top 50%	97.0%
Bottom 50%	3.0%

To belong to the top 30 per cent of the savers, your family need have only \$1,100, which won't carry you long or far. If your family has \$1,800 or more in bonds and bank accounts, you belong according to this survey in the upper 20 per cent; \$3,400 puts you in the top 10 per cent.

With all the talk about the "great reservoir of war savings" which will buy limitless quantities of automobiles, refrigerators, houses, and food, and maintain everlasting prosperity, the cold, hard figures show that only a few have money enough to buy anything.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENT VOTERS, key factor in the outcome of Congressional elections in recent years, met in Chicago's Continental Hotel September 28-29 to unify their efforts to elect a progressive 80th Congress.

The meeting was called by the leaders of eight of America's leading independent organizations: Frank Kingdon, C. B. Baldwin, and Elmer Benson of the National Citizen's Political Action Committee; Harold Ickes and Jo Davidson of the Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Philip Murray, president of the C.I.O.; Jack Kroll, chairman of C.I.O.-P.A.C.; A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Walter White, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; James Patton, president of the National Farmer's Union; and Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Warning that the November elections will decide the nation's future, the conference denounced the 79th Congress for its miserable legislative record, for having served the interests of special groups rather than the interests of the people. It appeals to the political independents who supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's program, to participate in the November elections so that "the voices of privilege, of hate and bigotry, will not dominate the 80th Congress as they did the old."

PART OF THE REASON FOR THE SHORTAGE OF AUTOMOBILES available to the American public lies in the fact that the industry has been exporting huge numbers to foreign markets.

During the first six months of 1946, 5.8 of all automobiles sold were sold abroad. That may not seem like a lot, but its 123 per cent greater than exports in 1941, the last peacetime year of auto production. As a matter of fact, auto exports for the first six months of this year were greater than in any year since 1938, when foreign trade provided the industry with the profits it could not make in a rapidly shrinking domestic market.

The Cooperative Movement

THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE TRADING AGENCY at its annual meeting in Zurich, Switzerland, October 5, approved formation of an international cooperative petroleum association which, it is expected, will serve as

a world-wide yardstick for petroleum prices and may create a pattern for middle-of-the-road economic policy for the nations of the world.

The new organization will be called the International Cooperative Petroleum Association and will have an authorized capital of \$15,000,000 of which \$900,000 has already been pledged. Twenty-two organizations have already indicated their willingness to participate; among them are co-operatives in the United States, Sweden, Scotland, France, Belgium, China, Cuba, the Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, Australia, Iceland, Argentina, Egypt, Finland, Greece, Italy, Palestine, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Siam and Tunisia.

Thus the Cooperative movement has mobilized its resources for what may well be its greatest battle with world-wide monopoly.

Since World War II U. S. cooperatives have shipped petroleum to cooperatives in Australia, Belgium, China, France, Holland, Norway, South Africa and Sweden.

Labor Concern

LABOR UNIFICATION IN EUROPE. While statesmen and political agencies are finding it so difficult to bring about any economic unification in Europe, a start has been made by the International Transport Worker's Federation. At a recent Basle conference, delegations gathered from Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. It was the first time in 13 years that German delegations had been invited to participate on a basis of equality in such deliberations. The two German representatives were both trade union leaders prior to the rise of Hitler.

Dealing concretely with such problems as the manning of cargo vessels, tugs, and tankships under uniform conditions and wage standards, the conference drew up a program which will eventually be set forth in a Charter for Rhine Navigation. Recognizing the impossibility of achieving complete uniformity while currency discrepancies continue as at present, the Charter will provide a goal for working hours, holidays with pay, and minimum pay scales. While concerned with the practical everyday questions affecting the members of their trade union bodies, the conferees emphasized throughout the need of an international viewpoint and organic unity across national boundary lines.

Race Relations

THE SOVIET UNION has sent a special medical mission to Ethiopia to aid in the reorganization of the public health service there. The mission will be responsible for establishing a general hospital and out-patient's clinic in Addis Ababa. A medical college will also be set up to train Ethiopians locally, after which they will go to the Soviet Union for advanced medical study. Large quantities of medical equipment have been shipped from the Soviet Union to Ethiopia.

NOT ALL OF THE SO-CALLED "WITCH-DOCTORS" in Africa are Africans. A European in Southern Rhodesia by the name of P. A. Britz was lately arrested for offering bottles and packets of powder, crushed shells, herbs, fish, and a large wooden crocodile to African women clients who consulted him about loss of goats, barrenness, and other problems. The European, in keeping with the double standard of justice for whites and blacks, was let off with a suspended sentence.

George Bernard Shaw on "Courage": "I have never thought much of the courage of a lion tamer. Inside the cage he is, at least, safe from other men. There is not much harm in a lion. He has no ideals, no religion, no politics, no chivalry, no gentility: in short, no reason for destroying anything that he does not want to eat."

Books and Pamphlets

Clods of Southern Earth. By Don West. Boni & Gaer. \$1.00

Out of sharecroppers, Georgia crackers, factory workers and miners—out of men and women, black and white—out of Georgia's red earth—her abject poverty, her beauty and ugliness, a stirring song has come.

Don West, miner and farmer, teacher and poet, in his book of simply written yet deeply eloquent poetry gives one, hope for the South and for America. What is a people's poet, I have often asked myself? Will I know him? When I completed *Clods of Southern Earth*, I knew. Don West does not watch the people and then write about them. He writes of the emotions and experiences which he has participated in as one of them. He sings of little things like the beauty of a Georgia mountain, of a baby's birth, of young folks falling in love, of once beautiful sharecropper mothers growing ugly and old with sorrow and toil. He tells of little children who work in the fields sun-up to sun-down, hollow-chested, starry-eyed children, old at 12. Yes he writes of "little things"—Grandpa's calling home the hogs, fiddler's mournful tune, how he saw God in the beauty of flowers and in a tired factory worker's eyes, Harlan County coal diggers and the strength in a thousand clasped hands. Yes, Don West is angry, "... I want to tell America about victory—about sharecroppers, tenants, black men and crackers, and you must listen and look and think deep—for even I, a Georgia Cracker, one of your mongrels, am grieved by looking at what I've seen. ..."

But this is not futile anger, it is an anger which is born of love. Don West believes in the South. He has good reason to. He has taken part in the struggles of the people for a better life. He has seen their unrest and resentment against the forces of oppression and how that fear and unrest has manifested itself in hatred of race. But he knows that it is the swinging pendulum of economic security that sharpens these resentments. For, are there not Negro and white trade unionists marching side by side on the picket lines in the South today?

A man who sees wrong and is merely angry never changes the status quo. But a man whose anger resolves itself into a constructive battle to right these same wrongs becomes that moving force which helps to make history. Throughout the reading of *Clods of Southern Earth* there is a constant feeling of going forward. In spite of the misery which Mr. West brings to life, the reader is always aware of the deep underlying tone of faith and sure knowledge in the people's ability to forge a unified, healthy and democratic South. In Don West's own words from the poem, "My South":

"You have drunk poison
And it turns you mad
Like a rotten cancer
Gnawing at your brain.

And I am grinding
The blades of my songs
To a tempered edge
To whittle on
Your cancerous brain. . . .

Tomorrow you must wake
And white hands will clasp
Ebony
Bowed over a few charred bones
By a burnt-off stake . . . !

YOU ARE MY SOUTH:
I'LL HAMMER YOU
INTO A BEAUTIFUL SONG
FOR I LOVE YOU . . . "

Mr. West stems from Georgia mountain folk. They were sturdy men and women who went up into Georgia's hills to try to scrub a living from an unyielding earth because they could not compete with slave labor on the plantations, in the rich valleys below. Throughout, they were a potent factor in opposing slavery. Many of their representatives in Congress fought to the end to preserve the union. These Georgia "crackers" did not care to die for men who were oppressing them as well as the black slaves.

Don West, poet, has done many things; he has been deck-hand, farm boy and textile worker. He is an ordained Congregational minister, who always preached the gospel of the

Carpenter of Nazareth, as synonymous with true democracy. At the present time he is superintendent of schools in the small mountain community of Lulu, Georgia. The schools in Lulu have attracted the attention of educators all over the country; many have gone there to see and to study Mr. West's method of transforming schools into living monuments for democracy. In these days when headlines scream of Negro lynchings throughout the South, and Bilbo and Rankin still sit in Congress, it is very encouraging to know that there are Don Wests throughout the South, fighting at the source.

For those readers who really want to know Southern folk, see them in the fields and in their homes, share their joys and sorrows, "*Clods of Southern Earth*" should rank high on their "must" list. You will be proud to own a book which is not only very well written from a poetic point of view but which carries a dynamic message to all of us.

"It is no lonesome road we tread
Though so the cynics say.
The poet, farmer, working man
Must walk a common way."

—From "No Lonesome Road," included
in "*Clods of Southern Earth*."

R. R.

three short editorials

(Continued from page 113)

like to handle raw sewage with his bare hands. He read of Pegler's libels only when they were blasted by Earl Wilson, "Saloon Editor" of the *New York Post* and a man who knows who gets drunk and who doesn't. (Earl is a former Methodist Sunday School teacher.) That Roosevelt ever drank to excess was denied by Judge Rosenman, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Ickes and others who knew the late President intimately. That charming, gracious, and humane Christian lady who still resides at Hyde Park, of course, kept silence. Pegler's source, having left this life for parts unknown, also said nothing further.

Now, was Pegler reproached for this calumny by the church press? Specifically, by the official Methodist press? Or has our spleen at Roosevelt's advocacy of Repeal made us ready to accept without question any libel, any falsehood, no matter how scurrilous?

And, during all the years when the vicious, obscene, infantile-paralysis-insanity-immorality slanders and Eleanor-club whispers and vapid, hateful giggings were going on among the so-called (I said so-called) "best" people in our Methodist churches, was any word of Christian rebuke or remonstrance or disavowal uttered officially by our press, our bishops, or significant numbers of our clergy?

And if not, why not?

BIG CHIEF IS HEAP WISE

Scott Nearing likes to tell the story of a proud Indian Chief, to whom a missionary was preaching the gospel of work.

"You must enter the shop and work," urged the missionary.

"Why?" asked the Chief.

"Well if you work hard, you will be promoted and your wages raised."

"And then?"

"Why, you'll be promoted and become a foreman."

"And then?" the Chief persisted.

"Keep moving," continued the missionary, "and you may be appointed superintendent."

"What then?"

"If you are successful you can have a shop of your own, with many people working for you."

"Ah," exclaimed the Chief, "then I wouldn't have to work myself, would I?"

"Certainly not," the missionary exulted.

"Well," mused the Chief, "I can't see the need of going through all that grief. I don't have to work now."